

CIACO

NID 81 [REDACTED]

June 22, 1981

**POLAND: Soviet Pressure Intensifies**

*Public expressions of alarm over the situation in Poland by two high Soviet officials signal a decision to intensify pressure on Polish leaders either to control preparations for the party congress or to postpone it.* [REDACTED]

Warsaw Pact commander Kulikov yesterday compared events in Poland with the threat posed by plans to deploy additional nuclear missiles in West Germany. In an article commemorating the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, Kulikov charged that forces in the West, particularly West Germany, were "brazenly intervening" on behalf of counterrevolution in Poland, and he asserted that antisocialist forces in Poland threaten the security of the entire socialist community. [REDACTED]

The article is a strong reminder that the Soviet leadership regards as justifiable the use of Warsaw Pact forces to preserve Communist rule, and Kulikov stressed that the unity of the Warsaw Pact represents a "dependable guarantee" of socialism within its member countries. [REDACTED]

Kulikov's article followed by a day the strongest and most authoritative statement of Soviet dissatisfaction over the Polish situation since Moscow's 5 June letter to the Polish Central Committee. Speaking on Soviet television Saturday, chief spokesman Zamyatin of the Soviet Central Committee repeated the criticism expressed in that letter and claimed that the situation is not improving. He stated that "the situation calls for "decisive action." [REDACTED]

Following the Soviet practice of recent days, Zamyatin directed his criticism at the "extremist" wing of Solidarity, and accused it of attempting to elect its own supporters to the party congress--an implicit admonition to the party leaders to exercise greater control over the election of delegates, and perhaps nullify some of the early results. [REDACTED]

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Rural Solidarity Scored

While the Soviet letter of 5 June made no mention of Rural Solidarity, Zamyatin referred to that organization as a "kulak party"--something ideologically unacceptable in a Communist state--and implied that the Polish Government's agreement to register it had been reached under duress and without party authorization. This statement raises new doubts regarding the extent to which Moscow is willing to accept the changes already made in Poland. [REDACTED]

The warnings of Kulikov and Zamyatin will doubtless be repeated today at the meeting of the Soviet Central Committee, which may take further action to press the Polish leaders. The latter may feel obliged to make a public response precipitating open polemics with Moscow. Polish hardliners may feel emboldened to raise their voices, and even to make another attempt to unseat First Secretary Kania before the congress. [REDACTED]

Delegate Elections

The election of delegates for the party congress is scheduled to end this week, and most of those members of the Politburo and Secretariat who have been elected so far are moderates or liberals. Politburo member Grabski, however, who led the challenge against Kania at the Central Committee meeting earlier this month, is one of the hardliners elected to the congress. Several members of the 16-man Politburo thus far have either opted not to seek election or have been defeated. [REDACTED]

Preliminary conferences for the party congress that have taken place since the beginning of this month have supported the principle of "social renewal" and have given a vote of confidence to the more prominent supporters of the Kania-Jaruzelski team. There is not much information available about the 850 delegates thus far selected, but they are generally white-collar workers or members of the intelligentsia who have just won positions in the provincial party organizations. About 30 percent of the delegates are members of Solidarity who presumably will push for sweeping personnel and policy changes in the party. [REDACTED]

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Those delegates who want wholesale changes can cite a recent poll to point out that the party must change if it is to have any credibility with the populace. The results of the poll, published last week, show that the people trust first the Catholic Church and then Solidarity but regard the party as the least trustworthy of seven organizations listed. [REDACTED]  
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